

A
DISCOVERSIVE
CONIECTVRE

V P O N T H E
R E A S O N S T H A T
produce a desired event of the present
troubles of GREAT BRITAIN, dif-
ferent from those of Lower
G E R M A N I E .

Considered in the maine passages that
seeme parallel , but upon a further survey
are discovered to be otherwise.

BY CALYBUTE DOWNING,
L. L. D. Pastor of Hackney.

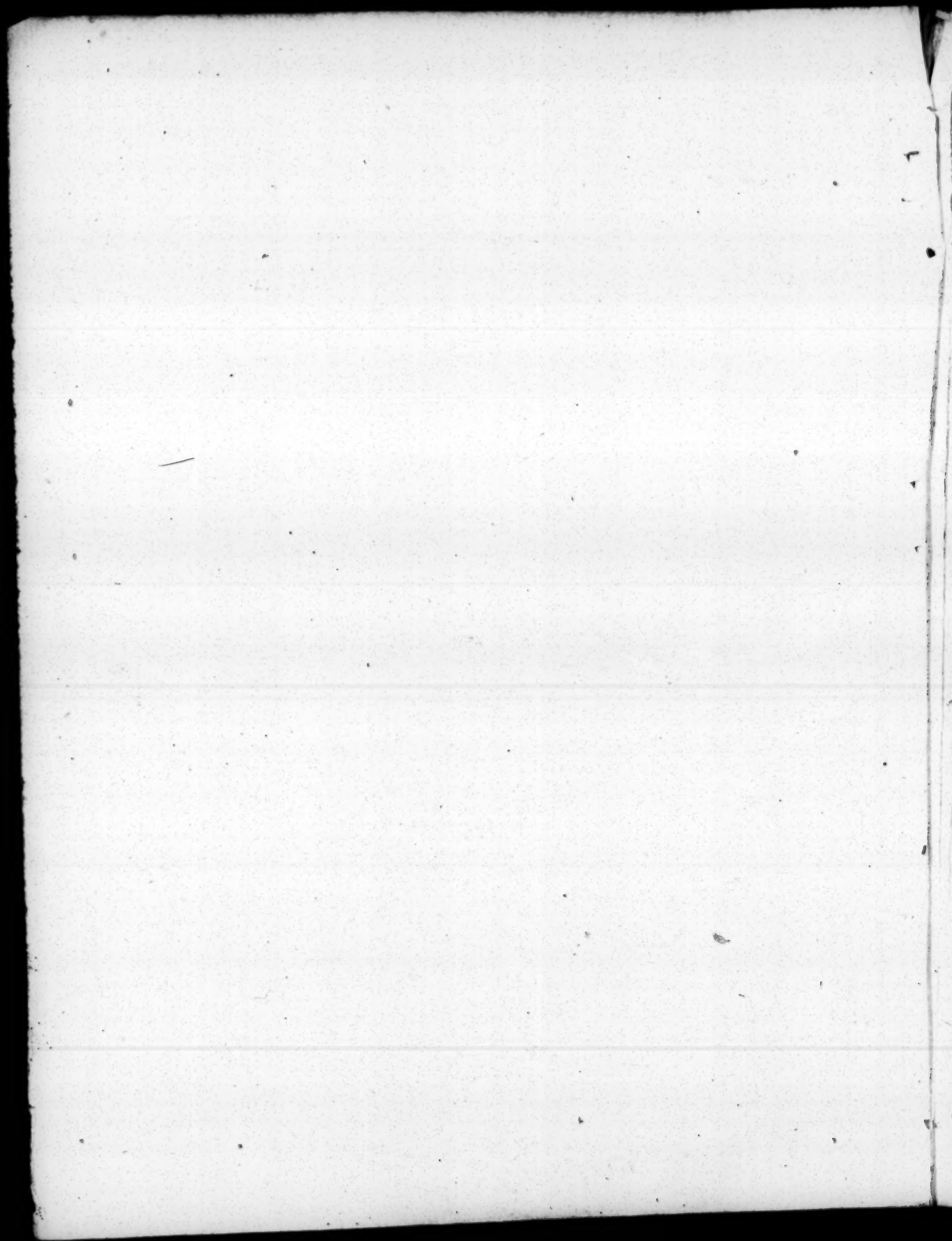
TACIT. HIST. LIB. I.

*Rara Temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, & dicere quæ senti-
as licet; quando Nerva Imperium, & Libertatem, res olim inso-
ciabiles miscuisset.*



L O N D O N ,

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A
DISCOVRSIVE
Conjecture upon the Reasons
that produce a desired event of the
present troubles of Great Britain,
different from those of
Lower Germany.

THE Hope
that these sad
and destru-
ctive distem-
pers, may
now have a
more desired
end, than the
world of wise
men could lately beleeve, puts us on
B beyond

beyond our feares to produce pregnant grounds, to make good what we have laid in about this businesse; as it is now transacting in happy hands. Which Worke (in all Politique probability) will give a great advance to his Majesties honour, and render Him considerable abroad, and like Himselfe at home; the blessed Fountaine of justice, peace, and plenty; that His ROSES and LILLIES may not grow, or rather be blasted in his Peoples blood.

We doe not adventure to run up this discourse so high, as the originall causes of these troubles, either in respect of the States principles, or divine providence; that I hold hard, and high worke, wherein latitude, and liberty of Divination is as dangerous, as difficult, and so leave it to time, and those that shall be trusted to draw up, and Commentary these three yeares affaires in an Heroicall history, for his Majesties honour and use

use both in the State Ecclesiastique, and Civill : and I cannot but conclude it the choicest piece in a practique way, that hath ever passed the Presse, since the Sword-man devised Printing, or the Gown-man conjured up Gunning.

It is not to be denied, but that there is so much similitude betwixt these Brittish troubles, and the beginnings of the stirres and storms of the *Belgique* Provinces, (before they settled into a solemne War) that wee had great ground to feare the same cruell Calamities, had not God gratioously supplied his Majesty with these present Counsels. Yet now we beleeve, that not only out of a fond facilitie, because we wish it, that there is no such reason to fix the same infelicity, as a fatall period, the remedie being proper, powerfull, and not *Posthumum*. Now to make this come hot to honest hearts, with great and growing comfort; Let us

consider the occasions that cast the Low-countries into confusion, and allow how far we are gone in those wayes, and then truly take up, and see with what variety of better circumstances we may qualifie our feares, and quicken our hopes of a more happy event.

My designe is but to point at those passages that may be discovered in a *Transit*, without pretending to reach the reason of State in the non-communicable conveyances and negotiations of either side; supposing them fundamentally of force to produce a difference falling in with my proposall. Before we pitch any particular, the generall consideration of the cursed consequences, of the *Belgique* confusions, must needs worke strongly with all wise men, especially upon his Majesty, who is highliest interested, causing him to cast his provident eye upon the seat of those civill cruell wars, as an example of caution;

caution; as a Rocke covered, with the remaines of a wrecked Spanish Carrack, floating about it, sinking a whole Navy, to save that which was scarcely considerable, if wise men had had the valuing of it, who use to rule by remitting, when Subjects cannot obey with subsisting; Alas, that poore patch and spot of his patrimony is turned into a common Golgotha, to bury all Spanish greatness of a Fever *In spiritualibus*, which every Spring is ill Physick for an olde State to graft a new Monarchy upon, and all this by Ecclesiasticall Order, and solemne Procession, as they are the Heraulds and Masters of his Ceremonies. This were Item enough (too dearely bought) for us to steere another course, and not to trust shifting Sands, with Cæsar, and all our fortunes.

But to come close to the bare businessse, the first consideration wee shall propose in this worke, is the

Time and Manner of the rising of these Troubles in both States. Now though *Belgia* began first to feel these growing Distempers, upon King *Philip* the Second his personall taking Possession of that government, by solempne investiture, upon his father *Charles* the fift his Resignation: and the present Troubles of Scotland first appeared upon his Ma^{ties} making his Royall residence and Actuall assumption in his sacred Inauguration; yet this holds but lightly, with Wise men, either in morals or Politiques, to produce the same event, if duly considered. For indeed there is a vast and operative distance, in the concurrent circumstances of their royall journies: because K. *Philip* came into *Belgia*, not as K. of England, but K. in England, or onely the Queenes husband (as hee complained to his Father, that the English called him, which was one argument, to obtaine a resignation of some-

something) who dying in his absence,
 he remained onely the bare *Dominus*,
 not *Rex Belgie*, and seeing all his
 other Dominions, both hereditary,
 and Feudall past and posselt in a
 monarchique way, this temper of go-
 vernment, in his other territories,
 tempted him to try conclusions,
 against his trust, even to trouble those
 provinces, and his owne conscience,
 by attempting to turne them in-
 to a Kingdome, contrary to his oath
 so lately taken; which desire though
Charles the fifth had in his heart, yet
 his well tempered head, held him
 from driving it to a point. Knowing
 full well, how ill it would worke,
 being alwayes under severall Lords
 and Lawes, pitched into Provinces,
 under particular Proceres, who had
 more than a meere *Simulachrum pote-*
statis, especially being that Flanders
 was but lately coldly relinquisht by
 the French King *Francis* the first, up-
 on an unequall Treaty, when *Charles*
 had

Lud. Guic.
 Comment.
 de Belgi.
 1554.

Grot. Apol.
 C. 1. 2.

Sleid. de reb.
 Illustr. Gal.

had him prisoner at Madrid : and so this could not come well from Philip *In novo, nutanti, & quasi precario Domino* : Thus was his way. When as his Majesty came into Scotland sole and supreme Potentate, of all Brittish Dominions, not to turne a Republique, or an Aristocracie, into a Monarchy, but tooke solemne possession of an unquestioned Crowne, and his Nobles of England were welcome Witnesses, and Attendants of this roiall Worke, without any interruption from any supposed *Inter-Regnum*, or pretensions of diminution whatsoever. So that the nature of the businesse and the ends of the Princes being so divers, must needs produce various events ; and it were a wonder in government if they should not ; especially if in the next place you consider the proceedings issuing from these Royall Presences, and you will finde them conclusive for his Majesties honor, and the publique peace.

I will

I will not deny, but there was something proposed, and put on by some, that in good time may have little thanks for their paines; which in the State Ecclesiastique drive to a change; but that was not his Majesties designe, but as it was represented to him as a Nationall question, to be determined by his Wisdome. But *Philip* raised the question, and was warme in the Worke; as see it in a particular: The first offence given and taken in both States, was about fourteene Bishops, with their Canons, the one of Trent, with Regall limitations; and the other of England, with mitigating variations; the Inquisition to execute the one, and the High Commission the other, but in far different waies. For *Philip* did erect *de novo* 14 Bishops, out of Abbots ruins & revenues, and in a Republike, against an expresse priviledge in termes, with the scandall of the Nobility, who well understood,

C

that

Meteran. hist.
Belg. li. 2.

that so cautious a Prince would never so provoke such jealous Peeres; but that he conceived the creating of these new Ministers an assured meanes to tie them short, and silent in all their State-assemblies, as overawed by their presence, and so in event reduce the force of such freedom into forme, that they might waxe weary, and be content to want them, and so he worke his will; especially considering, how this notorious Innovation was transacted at Rome, by a Bull of Faculty from *Paul* the fourth; which must needs be carried with great power, and privacy, because *Philip* was at odds, and odious to the Pope about the present businesse of Naples: It was to be beleev'd, that some great matters were to be managed by this new engine, procured with so much care and cost, both of time and treasure, with such a dash of reputation, and danger of rebellion,

Thuanus hist.
lib. 33.

bellion, and the States being not so sleepy, as to suffer themselves to be supplanted by a cunning consequent of a pernicious and unpleasing President, could not but stirre. Now take up these circumstances, and they quite change the case; for it is one thing to erect 14. new Bishops, thereby laying the foundation, for settling of a Faction, and shaking the present Government, by mixing instruments distributed into all Provinces, as dependants at absolute devotion; one thing (I say) to erect 14 new Bishops, another to protect 14 olde Episcopall Sees; represented to his Majesty as a necessary, ancient, usefull State in that kingdome: and the manner of composing the question, falls in much with the maine, *Philip* maintaining those moderne Prelates beyond all moderation: his Majesty relinquishing these, as not standing with the present State of affaires. For though he hath done

Inchoavere
sibi annum
ultimum,
Reipub. pro-
pe supre-
mum, Tacit.
hist. lib. 1.

much for them, yet he will not undoe his State Civill, to support the Ecclesiasticall in accidentals. So that in Politique possibility we may hope a correspondent event to the reall difference of these proceedings.

And now wee have seen a difference in the designe, and the maine meanes to compasse it; in the next place let us consider the instruments, how they were called, or thrust themselves into the affaires of the State; and with what successe they fell in with their Masters Counsels, or furthered their owne upon his greatness & goodnes. Now you shall finde *Philip* the second, for atchieving of his end forenamed, chose himselfe instruments fit for usurpation of absolute dominion, and without doubt was the leader of these Ministers, especially at the first. For Archbishop Cardinall *Grandvell* was trusted in traverse worke, by *Charles* the fifth, not taken for an ambi-

ambitious piece of aiery, aspiring timber; but this Austrian Eagle, proposed such glorious objects to these Harpies, as pleased his eyes, and cared not, if it burnt their feathers. Yea, he was so radically resolved, that when his prudent sister, *Margaret* of Parma, moderatrix of Belgia, proposed waies of moderation; his nature, seconded and set on by his ends, boldly broke through all her mediation, and some of his owne promises and protestations which were wrought out of him by present importunity, and impossibility to proceed. True, he went severall waies, but alway to the same ends, which was to make an end of all those Provinces, rather than hee would misse of his minde, though he found it *Durissimam Provinciam*: therefore concluded her removall, and to send the daring Duke of Alva in her place. Now there is an infinite distance, and must needs have

Thuan. hist.
lib. 38.

successe in futable way, for a Master
 upon ill ends to imploy bad servants,
 and uphold, and hold them to it, as
 his businesse, upon judgement; and
 for a prudent Prince, not used to vi-
 cious waies, and so not jealous, to
 bee misinformed by Ministers that
 thrust themselves upon odious un-
 warranted actions, supposing that
 his Majesty must owne them and
 their proceedings; it is true, that
 such a gracious Master merited to
 have better servants, or by this time
 to have made them so: but this case
 will infallibly afford a more blessed
 conclusion, both in the judgement of
 God, and man, than where indiffe-
 rent instruments were driven to de-
 generate, to serve one mans will, and
 lay the foundation of all mens mi-
 fery.

And it were not amisse to make
 this evident by the severall carriages
 of these Princes towards their Mini-
 sters; as to instance only in two
 grand

grand Creatures of King *Philips*, compared with the ambitious imbracers of his Majesties affaires, (so far as they are disturbed) not to speak of their Collaterall auxiliaries of State. Take Archbishop *Grandvell* a forreiner, yet making an imbrace-ment of all the businesse of Belgia, first, or last all touched upon him; and joyne to him the Duke of Alva, a great Commander in the conquered kingdome of Naples, and compare them with whom you see cause, and then take a view how their Masters dealt with them; and it will be the shortest and the surest rule of the uses they meant to make of them. Few without an Italians cunning, and a Spanish Iesuited conscience, could ever have gotten leave of themselves to put in practise such false and fatall Counsells as Bishop *Grandrell* executed; for grant, that as a great Church-man, of vast desires, and designs, he had over-acted in the proposall

posall of the project of fourteen new Bishops, supported with the new Inquisition and Canons: sure hee would never have set himselfe to make good his mistake by so much mischiefe, as a Civill war, if King *Philip* had not put him on, to assure his fraud by force, in the promise of *Alva* his Army (as you find these two men shifting interests, and crushing all opposites by Combination) sure these *Dominationum Provisores* (as *Tacitus*) Purveyors of Tyrannie; that proceeded against the Law of Nations, Arms, and Leagues; whose truces, Treaties, Pacifications, had all Treachery under them, had in reason of state (in which King *Philip* seldom erred) been discarded as destructive disturbers, if they had not bin much wrought, and upon meere motion first warranted for their humorous undertakings: without doubt this Prelate, the chiefe Augur of Austrian Tyrannie, that had more of the Diviner,

viner than the Divine in him, had
 been soone banisht as a mischievous
 State-Mountebanke, and not beene
 trusted as a faithfull *Fæcialis*, if there
 had not beene some disorders to bee
 acted *In Ordine ad Spiritualia*, there-
 by to serve his Masters Temporall
 turne. Else would *Philip* never have
 withstood so many Complaints of
 the whole State, with the aggrava-
 ting letters of humble Information,
 from the chiefe of the Nobility, a-
 gainst this odious instrument, that
 the Prince of Orange (whom the
 cunning Prelate called *Taciturnus*)
 should so speak out, to such a Prince,
 and yet *Philip* owne him, sure there
 was more in it than ever saw day, or
 can endure it: especially when the
 Governesse, his wise wel-tempered
 sister, signified the same, and desired
 his displacing; yea and some of the
 Nobility of Spain at home, that were
 not of the Cabinet-Councel, fully vo-
 ted to displace him: only *Alva* stuck

D

close

Strada li. 2.

close to his Ecclesiastique friend: and when by universall hatred hee began to totter, the king did not then remit him to the state, for the triall of his pretended integrity; onely cast a jealous eye upon him, not as one grossly evill, but as too great, too able, absolute, and something insolent an Instrument; suspecting and supposing his owne supreme abilities eclipsed by his so neere, so high advancing: so that all hee did with him, was to lay him by for a time, lodged under a cloud of personall displeasure, to make him passe lower, and come lesse in the worlds esteeme; not that hee had any disposition of doting indulgence, beyond reason of state, to reverence his office or order, being he immediately cast him upon hard, rough, and rocky work, cut out of purpose to breake him, or that hee might break the wilde, unbackt, unbitted Neapolitan Courser, which *Totinomus* had heated into a sedition, by

by seeking to hamper & halter them with Inquisition. Sure the most the King disliked in him, was a busie boldness to over-do the businesse; as whē he was his Vice-Roy of Naples, he presently fel foul with the Bishop, possessed his temporalls, and cast him into prison. Wise Princes long relish not those Ministers, that will needs be not onely executioners, but Authors of their Masters Counsels; being they love to serve their own wils with their owne wits; and instruments must know no more of businesse, than they think good to reveal, especially if it be such as wil not endure the light: rightly concluding, that all openings are weakenings both in buildings and in businesse, as well in Factions as in Fabrickes: therefore this Prelate being privy to so much, *Philip* did wisely, not to change his fortune by dis-favour, lest he should change his faith to his disadvantage; holding this false Princi-

Strada li. 5.

Thuanus hist.
lib. 40.

ple, not to permit the most perniti-
ous Minister to sinke or suffer; and
therefore gave an expresse to the Go-
vernesse, that shee should never call
an universall Assembly of the States;
and when, upon an exigent, by pri-
vate instruction shee assembled a Se-
nate, it was with a designe to dissolve
it; being not intended so much to
have their advice and assistance, but
to feele their Pulse, and finde by their
affections, whether the worke was
a possible pull; exploring their
strength, or rather their weaknesse,
putting them into passion in provo-
king waies, that there might be more
colour, to embrace, or crush the grea-
test, as they saw occasion. Now what
needed all this shifting, & shuffling,
if the dealing had been faire, and
above-board, in the view of the bo-
dy of the Councell of State And that
his Majesty goeth no such waies to
shelter his mischievous Ministers, let
the present proceeding discover;
though

though more might be said in excuse of our Ecclesiasticall instruments, being not beaten to businesse of State, to consider consequences in longwinded workes, good only at quicke turnes, hints, fits, starts, and onsets of actions, out of ambition, envy, and humorous interests, being subtile, yet shallow, concealing a bottome not worth the owning, wanting both patience, and experience, heated with passion into a Calenture; whose power wiser, yet worser men, Iesuited Statists, have abused to doe more mischief than they ever meant. But further let us consider, how *Philip* dealt with his second Minister, the great Duke of *Alva*; and see his Majesties carriages towards the like man, of prodigious pride and parts. When *Philip* called *Alva* out of Italy, into Belgia, having no minde either to goe himsele, or make good the pacification; and pretended only the distemper of a

Strada li. 5.

Meteran. hist.
li. 2.Confinato e
perele da
Corte.
Conestag. da
Portogallia
istorza. li. 3.

tertian Ague, as a fit divertive, to deny his Royall presence; though he was assured by good hands, that an Emplaster applyed by any other hand, would be taken for a cutting Corrasive, and breed ill blood; Yet by Alva's perswasion at the Councell-table in Spaine, upon a private Item of his owne, brake through all, and concluded upon his advice, with a Royall Army to make good all his demands; (which counsell was Treason in Belgia, being the forces were forraine) now if this Duke had only acted his owne nature, and not tooke these hints from the K. ends, sure *Philip* would have used him according to the event of his unhappy service, and not only have made a relegation and faire confinement of him to Vzeda, five and twenty miles from it, as a reservation to his owne use, till time, and occasion should call him home, and no neighbour use him in the interim, nor cor-
rivall

rivall envy him, for favour obtained upon such foule, and fatall undertakings. Sure had he not performed the maine, *Ex præscripto Regis*, Philip would have laid a damning deportation upon him, or at least have left him at a losse, and never have called him home, to passe with an Army into Portugall, setting him at liberty, to chaine them short. Indeed his ill service, when all was passing along to peace, and his Majesties owning, or not openly deserting of him, soone turned the worke of War, in the progresse and proceſſe of it, from a defensive, into an offensive, on the States part; and it is likely so to continue, being cast into such a way of subsisting, that what goeth out of the doore in expence of armes, commeth in at the window in ex-
fise and successe. As take a view of his particular proceedings; after the breach of the pacification, and the Prince of Orange his relinquish-
ing

Strada li. 7.

Idem li. 6.

Plus signifi-
cat, quam lo-
quitur.

Hippol. à
collib. confil.
q. 2.

Thuan. li. 41.

Comineus
Com. li. 8.

ing Belgia, upon the tender of a new oath to the Nobility, and so avoiding his treacherous hands; Alva by private, pocket warrant, procured by whispering Counsell, upon halfe a word from his Majesty, cut off chiefe of the Nobilities heads who set their hands to the complaint against ill Counsellors, and petitioned for composing all in honorable, safe waies; and that for crimes never published, and therefore for ever suspected, which raised such a mischievous mixture in mens mindes, as fixed a resolution, to have Spanish blood pay the arreares for ever: that he was held up to goe on at this rate, hath cast downe the power of the elder house of Austria in lower Germany, whence the Eagle first tooke his flight, to mount to the top of the Capitol, upon the malicious mistake of *Lewis* the eleventh. Now let us reflect a little, and see how his Majesty carrieth the like proceedings
to

to a more prosperous point, giving full way to sequestre and punish all malignant delinquents ; wherein his Highnesse holds close to his own prudent principles, to rule by Counsell, especially in extraordinary confounding causes, when the ordinary private, set Councell of Princes is concluded too short, and insufficient, as never intended for universall advice in such domestique designs, as worke upon the body and soule of a State ; especially if some of those Counsellors, who have pulled hardest to be interested in publique affaires, be found faultiest, and the fomenters of the dissentions, driving the interests of a false and forraine friend, long since sworne *Protector Regni Angliæ*, and hath ever since beene so wise, as to have Pensioners at devotion ; knowing that seditions make Conquests easie, where he hath a party.

This indeed is the root of all these

E

rui-

Pet. Mat. hist.
paci l. 6. n. 3.

Opes factionis.
Salust.
Bell. Jugur.

ruinating courses; which is the next consideration to be examined for a hoped different event, and will satisfie all rationall, disingaged Statists, concerning his Majesties deserting many of his Ministers, as *Piaculares publici odii victimæ* (as *Pliny* perswaded just *Trajan*.)

Meteran. li. i.

Now to make this manifest, wee must lay downe what principles necessitated *Philip* irrecoverably to correspond and support such kinde of instruments, especially his Spanish tooles of State, crosse to his Fathers last advise, and you will finde it to be the making himselfe head of the holy League concluded in the Council of Trent, upon his owne conditions to make the Westerne world his holy Land, and a fifth Monarchy; then he began to execute the Canons of the Councell, with a Writ, *De excommunicato capiendo*, farming all the Popes Fines at a quit rent of his own rating, making this a Title, to have
footing

footing by a faction, in all Dominions he aimed to embrace; now for this worke he was to have Ministers that must live in the bowels of neighbour kingdomes, to be their death. Witnesse the *Guifian* faction that wrought so malignantly upon Scotland, with reference to England. When they perswaded the Queene Regent to get a guard of Italians; this engine had the maine spring turned by Spanish reason of State. Sure the performing of this pleasing trust cast him upon many most unpleasing passages, whch were too sutable to his dispositon, (as well as his designe) which was severe, even to cruelty. For I cannot beleve that *Q. Maries* temper, notwithstanding all provocations by her Mothers divorce, and her danger of disinheriting by the Protestant party, did put her into such waies of wasting her Countrey, and Conscience, if King *Philips* company and counsels had

Thuan. li. 23.

Repræsent.
paciſ general.
ca.6.

not engaged her , neither was it a passage of pittie , but policy , that made him mediate for *Queene Elizabeths* life, being he had no hope of Issue, and meant to marry her , and would not in any case she were removed , because the French King, *Francis* the second had obtained *Mary* *Queene of Scotland* , the next heire to the Crowne , and hee was wiser than to let so considerable a Kingdome (that moderateth Christendome) fall into French hands : so that to returne , and leave digressing, this service of an Ecclesiastique voluntiere, filled his head and hands full of bloody businesse ; as see how he ventured all, to settle that Councell in these petty Provinces ; what waies he went to extirpate the Protestants of France. Instance the interview of Baion, when Alva went in his roome, attending his *Queene*, to give the French King and their Mother *Katharine de Medices* a meeting;

Thuan.1.37.

ing; when Alva had *Plena mandata* à *Philippo*, to communicate in *Arca-no*; and all was covered and coloured with his presenting his Majesty with the order of the golden Fleece; when the maine designe was the proposing of a plot for the *Parisian Maatins*, in imitation of the *Sicilian Vespers*; which hee delivered as a Master-piece from King *Philip*, who communicated it to the Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, to beg a benediction for a cursed Conspiracy; for which invention, or rather imitation of his predecessor *Peter* of Arragon, *Philip* well merited to have his name written in Rubricks, in the *Gregorian Kalender*, *Stylo novo reformato*, not as a Saint, but sanguinary hater of reformation. Yea, further, it may bee Physically conjectured, that the same blood begat that cruell Counsell, which put him upon deliberation, against his owne best blood, *Charles* his brave eldest Son;

E 3

who

Io. Baptista.
Hadrian.
apud Thuan.
li. 37.
Fazellus de
rebus Siculis.
li. 8. Dec. 2.

Pet. Mat. hist.
paci li. 6.
nar. 14.

Idem nar. 16.

Mariana de
los yerros del
govier de
los Iesuit.
cap. 10.

Hispaniam
pari iustitia
continuit,
major priva-
to visus dum
privatus fuit,
& omnium
consensu ca-
pax imperii
nisi imperaf-
set. Tacit.
hist. 1.

who upon Spanish reason of State, and no other ground rendered, but feare of his Religion, must die, and have only the favour to chuse his death. Yea, this politique zeale worked to the last gaspe with him; as that free, faithfull Author testifieth, *Philippum animam agentem, filio suo, summo ardore, bellum in Hæreticos commendasse*: and to make it impossible ever to meete in medium waies of moderation, he made choise of the Iesuits for his conscientious Casuists, which cunning Confessors have composed a *Somma pœnitentiale*, according to the compasse of their Grandizing Masters conscience, crosse to the quiet of all Christendome, and the good of humane society, which they keepe as Cases reserved, *Inter arcana dominationis*. So that all the world may see how King *Philip* and his successors are held to it, to stand by their Ministers, without they will lay down their designe
of

of enlargement of Dominion ; but while that humour reigneth , they must be unjust , if it be for a kingdom , and shall have use of such instruments that they dare not remove but by sudden ruine. Whereas a moderate Prince who hath no such service, and Ministers burne not with black secrets , to make themselves deare, and over-awe him ; may with honour, safety, transcendent justice, and great content bequeath notorious suspected ill Counsellors, to a solemne publique triall ; being not necessitated , either to protect them for ever , or, without Proesse , to ruine them in a moment. Serious *Seneca* advising two waies of Clemency (a vertue of as much policy as piety in a Prince) leasoneth that sweetning, with mixing *Salutares severitates*. Yea, where he is most judiciously angry with Anger , he entereth a Caution , that sometimes, *Optimum misericordiae genus est occidere* ; especially

Antonio Perez. part 2.
cart. 33.

De Clem. li.
2. cap. 5.

De Ira. li. i.
cap. 9.

Decius de
regul. Iuris
l. 122. n. 2.

especially such as are blood-thirsty, & deceitfull men, who should not live out halfe their daies : *Atrocius ministri*, Contrivers of mischief and misery, whom no necessity, or straights of State can excuse. For there are *Fæda, falsa, & flagitiosa, quæ patriæ quidem causa facienda non sunt*; especially being waies against their King and Countrey upon a true interpretation, and a necessity of their owne procuring, to the States undoing, by their making the worst of that, which at the best was no better than nought; having concluded it good counsell to bring both kingdoms neere to ruine, that they might rule the with more ease, when they are poore & passive; a most confounding course in a free Monarchy.

And let no obnoxious disturber that hoped to escape in a smoke, thinke to stop, or divert this present course for the common good against the common enemies; by making

making it a question whether a Prince should suffer Ministers, of his owne making, bee publicly punished for ill execution of their offices? I refer them to their friends, Italian and Spanish pens, that have fully discussed this quæry, to their destruction; only let us represent the state of the question, and leave it to rationall men to consider.

The inquiry is not whether it be safe, or ever seasonable by a civill sword of Iustice, to cut off multitudes of men, though guilty of disturbance, so as to make a considerable party in State an example, having been missed by a few; when the way should be to give such time to repent, and come to themselves, and mitigate; as men only bitten by a mad dog, a Moone will assure them that are only lunatique for a fit: such epidemicall executions proceed as a worke from these publique enemies, futable to their natures, rather than

F from

Tesaur. polit.
parte terza
dis. 55.

4. 10. 10. 10.
10. 10. 10. 10.
10. 10. 10. 10.

from our necessity ; these are they that value their owne sweat in ill service , above the blood of the best of men : this is not that we aime at, either as justifiable, or plausible ; but what we propose, stands thus ; and we may stand to make it good to the whole world : that it is most honourable, just, and safe for a supreme Potentate, who hath the sole power of chusing his owne ordinary Ministers, in exigents of State to give up notorious and manifest Ministers of ill Counsels, to his owne extraordinary , supreme Councell , both of State and Justice, as to them that cannot be mistaken in domestique affaires ; having power not only to proceed by President , but also occasionally to create them, as reason of State, for full, safe, secret, and sudden dispatches shall require ; that they be not foiled in their deliberations, by over-punctuall, pædantique, literal interpretations ; as full, Aristocraticall

Extraordinaria persequi-
ones in ani-
madversione
capitalium
Vid. Briffon.
de verb. sign.

Legge piu
dannosa Re-
pub. che ri-
guarda affa-
tempore in-
dietro. Ma-
chiavel. hist.
Fieront. li. 3.

craticall bodies move many times so slowly in solemne waies, that their dangers prevent them, especially when all affaires are *in statu perturbato*, & *quasi in maligno posita*, then by a tacite consent of States, there be latitudes allowed, and variations, by way of relaxation from common courses, to serve and secure the King and State. And if private men may upon favour procure a privilege above, at least besides Law, as in omitted Cases; sure the State for the avoiding of present pressing evils, and the obtaining of future good, may assume the power, as supposed, to goe the Kings waies, and gates, upon sufferance, to meete with those common enemies that keep no compasse; but have well digested, that they lose not reputation, nor abuse their offices, so they get their ends, though by most high offences. Now that these men be let fall, as the proposers, as well as the executioners, of

Clapmar de
Arcanis Do-
minat. li. 3.
cap. 2.

Media consilia in medium prolata sunt a prava dispositione, vel quia negotium non probe intelligitur, ut Guiccard. hypomneses Politicæ 142.

Fredericus Furius idea consilarii in qualitate 11.

ill advice, against the fundamentall Lawes, and universall wel-being of his Majesties Dominions, and accordingly proceeded withall by the Parliament, *more majorum*, as being neither *novum*, nor *nimum*, may very well stand with his Majesties honor, and settle him in his native glory, with this Motto, *Carolus hætenus vixisse, & imperasse, nullos, nisi hostes Reipub: pœnitere.* (as was said of Charles the fifth) Indeed there can be no colour of cruelty, covetousnesse, or inconstancy cast upon this course : For when upon further triall, and advice with his great Councell, they are discovered as false, their discarding is no inconstancy, but fals in with his Ma^{ties} own principle; that they serve him best, that serve him with most honesty. Neither is it any defect of prudent circumspection in their choise; for when one Minister of State is trusted to commend another, & the choise be bad, the

the Supreme Master is only misinformed, not mistaken ; and so the first error remedied will rectifie all the rest, who were wrought and brought in, as secondary supports and supplies to make a Party, and raise a fortune by a Faction, as men bred, and sed for any service : and if a King should chuse any upon his owne judgement, he may as a man (and above the base flats of flattering spirits) by gracious Royalnesse be taken off from the security of suspecting men, so bad as they be ; and it may be they were much better when their Prince first pitched upon them, before the possession of power, and secret practise with worse men, rendered them as bad, or discovered their disposition : so that nothing of moment can be alleaged against his Majesties way of leaving them to his supreme Senate, being he doth not deliver them as devoted to destruction upon his own private

Campanella
in Atheismo
triumphato,
cap.6.

Ore probi,
sed animo in-
verecundi,
Salust.

Alfonso de
Azevedo de
syndicatori-
bus Hispaniz

ends, interests, or disaffections; but hath owned them more, and longer than such a good Master, so free from their guilt, needed ever to have done: it was meere necessity of State, produced by their Counsell, that caused his goodnesse to suspect their bad service.

And sure I am, the want of this now, when the eyes of all the world are opened, and set upon them as Pests and Vipers, perfidious enemies of mankind, both as he is a rational, and religious creature, taking up, or shaking the foundations of Church, and State; if now Iustice should not proceed, much dishonor, and more danger would arise out of it: if we should now undergoe the worst of Government (Civill War) under the best of Princes, it were the depth of misery; which God and man forbid, and this course is the only way to prevent it.

Rewards and punishments hold
up

K. James his
speech in
Parliament.
1609.

Spes & præ-
mia in ambi-
guo: certa
funera & lu-
ctus. Tacitus
hist. 61.

up all rationall orders, and operations, and have immediate influence upon the well-standing of a State : now if the worst of men should not only have immunities, & impunities, it were punishment unjustly inflicted upon the best ; but much more provoking, when they reape and receive the chiefest rewards, and have the favour, though they want the faithfulness, to distribute the rest.

Well it were, if such men as live against the rules and maximes of mans well-being, that make Monopolies, and so scarcity of necessary commodities, which the God of nature hath made common, should not be permitted to possesse a portion in the earth, or to breathe in the aire, but be interdicted fire and water, as those that stop, turne, or corrupt the course of the Fountain, & his Majesties high waies of Iustice, and by a Law fiction sinke the Land to serve the Sea, and yet trouble all
 Traffique ;

*Paucis chari-
or fides quam
pecunia. Sa-
lust. de Bello
Iugur.*

*Crimina ex-
traord. arbi-
traria & capi-
tali pœna co-
ercentur,
Vesembec. in
pand. de cri-
min. extraor.*

Clapmarius
de flagitiis
Domination.
lib. 5.

Traffique ; these are to be prosecuted as enemies of Civill society, being *de jure* proscribed by the Lawes of Nature, and Nations ; who to make good their mischief, would make the head of a State, the top of a Faction, and provoke a just Prince to be a Party, when his office is to be a Iudge, and charge the disturbance upon such Ministers as sought to worke a distance, and by degrees a defiance with those Subjects that endeavour to deserve his Majesties favour, and are most faithfull to his Crowne and dignity : these men have wrought in so many obnoxious under-instruments, as their Ministers and Minions, that there will be roome time enough to exercise royall clemency towards them, when the State is safe, and strongest humours purged ; Then it will bee a naturall, non-necessitated work, of highest humanity, when there is a true temper held, betwixt formall refining,

refining , reall reforming , and utter
ruine of all that deserve it.

Oh how much honour, and comfort well underlaid, which enemies would envy, but could not hinder, would come to his Majestie , if out of these troubles , and travels of his three Kingdomes, with false conceptions and monsters , a deliverance might be obtained by an universall reformation. Sure (with Gods blessing) we are very faire for it.

So that weigh well, and winde up all these particulars, and consider withall the temper of the State, strongly disposing to take up Civill dissentions for a Monarchy , where Councells meet in one head , hath more absolute advantage to compose and controule faction ; then any Aristocracy , especially if mixt of Germanes , and Spaniards , that could never fall into a League, but only a Truce for Traffique ; and lay to that the universall love of his
G Majesties

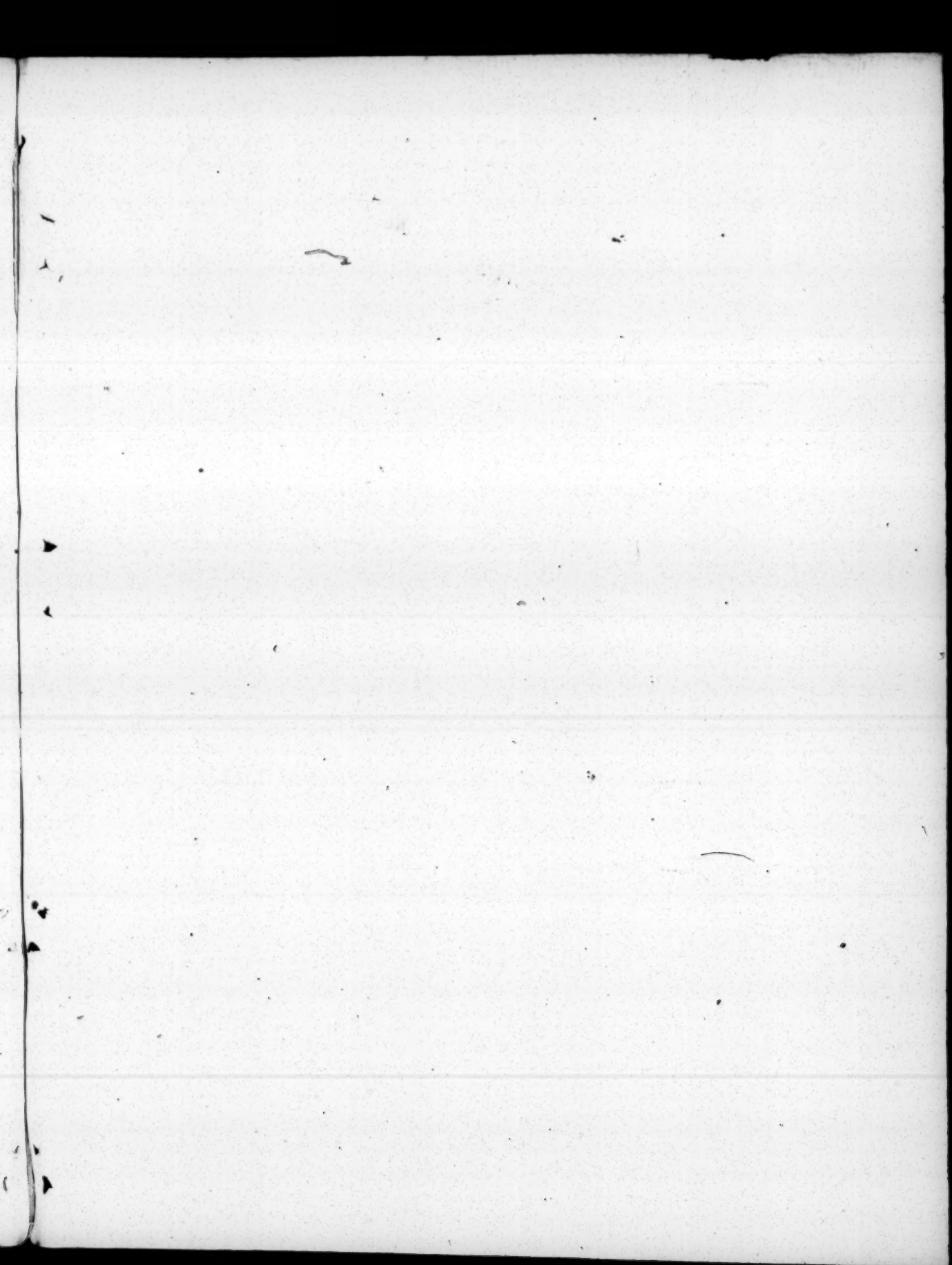
Warramond
de foederib.
li. 2.

Optanda
sunt laudan-
dis pauciora.
Wotton. ad
Regem è Sco-
tia reducem.

Majesties Royall person; the confidence of his absolute Iustice, and the present concurring of all the three States to serve him upon new endearing obligations, and then you cannot but conclude the best event that ever was expected of so difficult and dangerous a disturbance.

Si non stet Respub: certè in boni Principis finum cecidit. Vt SENECA sub
AUGUSTO CAESARE.





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